1: Karsten--217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 164, 177 (1928-29)

"Unnatural vices are rare or wholly unknown both among the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. Thus I have never heard either of homosexual customs or sodomy. As to venereal diseases, they are, as far as I know, as yet unknown to the majority of the Jibaro tribes. Among the half-civilized Canelos Indians, who have been more in contact with the whites, they seem to be more prevalent, but even among them they are at present rare."

l: Karsten--222-223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 595 (1928-29)

"If the Jibaro man treats his wife well and does not neglect his duties towards her, she is as a rule faithful and a model housewife. It is otherwise when she finds herself neglected by her husband, as not seldom happens. The Jibaros not only live in polygyny, but it may happen that an elderly man, especially an old chief, procures several young wives, even quite young girls captured from enemy tribes, towards whom he cannot duly perform his marital duties. It is no uncommon thing that such young, neglected wives engage in sexual relations with other men, [223] in spite of the risk that they incur thereby. Intelligent as the Jibaro woman is, she may display extraordinary acuteness in deceiving her husband."

l: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 562 (1928-29)

"The cruelty with which the deceived Jibaro husband treats his unfaithful wife is all the more noteworthy as otherwise the social position of the Jibaro woman is by no means that of an oppressed slave, as we shall presently see. She has much to say even in matters which do not directly concern her own domain within the household. But in a case of adultery only brute force and the law of the desert is valid. The Jibaro Indian treats his unfaithful wife simply in the same way as he treats his enemy to whom no mercy is shown."

l: Karsten--233 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847, 837 (1928-29)

"That abortion is not unknown to the Indians has appeared from my previous statements, but it is naturally most commonly practised by unmarried women. A Jibaro would not normally allow his wife to practise abortion. It only takes place in exceptional cases, for instance when a woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to an enemy tribe, or when marriage has been in some way unlawful so that there is the danger of the future child being a monster (pasúna, nētsi).

Abortion is among the JIBAROS effected by mechanical treatment at a comparatively advanced stage (probably in the third or fourth month of pregnancy). An older woman grasps the pregnant woman from behind round the waist and gradually presses out the foetus. The operation is said to be very painful and I was told that sometimes it happens that the woman dies from this radical treatment. Besides this, the Jibaros in such cases have recourse to the same harmless operation with the hen's egg by which they try to facilitate delivery: a medicine-man makes the woman swallow the contents of the raw egg which are poured directly into her mouth. Poisonous drugs are not used for the purpose by the Jibaros, but this, on the other hand, seems to be the case among the CANELOS INDIANS. They prepare a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called petun cara, and give this decoction to drink to a woman who wishes to rid herself of the consequences of sexual relations outside marriage."

I: Karsten--271 (1916-18) 1935 . Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

3: Simson--386-387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 595, 152, 837

"Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe--and, I am authoritatively informed, also the [387] other hordes observe the same practice--is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy. "

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crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed." 844

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting. 846 [854] [837] [761]

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemi* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [276] [824] [854] [774] [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

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(*wahe*) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl becomes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tawpuch* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tawpuch*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

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venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 937 •
by the Jivaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the more serious Jivaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 931
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jivaro. Young men frequently play love songs 932
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [594]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

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each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these *hansemată* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

While such *hansemată* songs have a courtship function between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, including married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require frequent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

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which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untá*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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of the *tsuampi* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation. Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sexual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-cousin (*tsahe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *tsahe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aha* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aha* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *tsahe* (male cross-cousin and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists. Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

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Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wamdi*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the